THE CHAPLAIN IN PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

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INTRODUCTION

At the time of writing (April 1965) there has been a resurgence of interest in unconventional warfare with all of its ramifications. One of the areas covered by this general heading must be in the area of psychological warfare. It has, of course, been an element of warfare through all of history, ever since the first caveman threatened to go back to his cave and get a bigger club when, in fact, he had none at all. In the past 25 years, however, psychological warfare has been used on a very large scale to deal with very large groups of people; entire nations, in fact. But today, due to the cataclysmic implications of nuclear weapons, there has been a renewed interest in the "small war," guerrilla-type operations which count so heavily on physical, moral, and spiritual attrition. For the guerrilla, the support of the populace is absolutely vital to his survival; hence, an emphasis by the guerrilla on psychological warfare techniques. For a fuller discussion of unconventional warfare in general, I would recommend a reading of Paret and Shy, GUERRILLAS IN THE 1960'S, and Valeriano and Bohannan, COUNTERGUERRILLA OPERATIONS, THE PHILIPPINE EXPERIENCE.

In all discussions of psychological warfare, a legitimate question might well be: "Where can we secure the experts in psychology to help in a psychological warfare operation?"

It would be reasonable to expect that sooner or later someone should think of the chaplain. By the very nature of his training as a clergyman, the chaplain deals with the basic psychological and spiritual attitudes of people; he meets them on the deepest level of their lives. Additionally, he constantly strives to channel these attitudes in quite specific directions, often with considerable success. One further desirable characteristic of the chaplain is simply that he is readily available within the military establishment. Here, then, is a situation in which the chaplain may be asked to put his talents and skills to use in another area, an area of vital concern to his nation.

It will be my contention that the chaplain, though suited to the task, cannot participate in these "aggressive" phases of psychological warfare and still be true to his calling. It is my view that if the chaplain, as a man of God, must choose between loyalty to God and patriotism to his country, then there is no choice. There is, however, one area in which the chaplain can be of considerable help: it is a fact often overlooked, but psychological warfare is constantly being waged against us. In this basically ideological struggle for the soul of man, the chaplain can and must act as one of the defenders against enemy psychological warfare.

It must be realized that all United States Army chaplains have signed, as a condition of commissioning, a statement to the effect that they are not conscientious objectors. Because of this, and the fact that this paper is intended for the military, I have not gone into any theological statements concerning the justness of morality of war in general (for example, Thomas Aquinas' masterful dissertation on the justification for war); I have assumed that each chaplain has reconciled this for himself. Besides, with the multitude of theological positions represented by Protestant chaplains alone, this paper would become entirely too unwieldy. Therefore, I have confined myself to basic statements which I feel would fit most situations. For this I must beg the reader's indulgence.

CHAPTER 1

THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITION OF TERMS USED

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

For many years clergymen in uniform have been willing to respond to the call and go whenever and wherever our military forces required. As emergencies and wars came and passed into history, they met the demands heroically and without complaint. Now, however, with the coming of newer types and methods of warfare, it is entirely possible that unusual and perhaps devestating responsibilities will become a part of the activities of these men of the cloth.

The purpose of our study is to consider and analyze a particular method of thinking which, when put into practice, may involve the military chaplain. The question will be considered within the following framework: "Should the military chaplain be considered for assignment to any branch of psychological warfare in an effort to assist our government in achieving objectives of interest to our national policy?" Our thesis will be broad enough to include alternatives to direct assignment.

Although psychological warfare has been used for centuries, it has not been until recent years that it has become a science set apart and applied to national policies of government. Originally, this science was developed for use in open

conflict and battlefronts. Now, however, it has been set down as an essential procedure in influencing and persuading peoples in the drive for national power. Since it is so important to policy makers, the delicate matter of considering clergymen for assignment in this particular area may be brought into the limelight. Because of the ability, experience and recognized status of clergymen in genral, it is entirely possible that chaplains could be pinpointed as likely timber for psychological warfare orientation and assignment.

DEFINITIONS

PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE: This term has caused a great deal of disagreement and needs some explanation. The idea gained wide recognition in military circles during World War II; so much so that before the war came to an end, an agency or branch of psychological warfare was established to carry on a type of propaganda activity. It was Chester Bowles, former United States Ambassador to India, who stated that psychological warfare is a cynical phrase borrowed from Goebbels and Stalin; he indicated that if we insist on using it to describe our activities, we would continue to

> "lose the respect of millions of people throughout the world who were brought up to believe that American ideals were more than clever gimmicks or cynical maneuvers."[1]

Another prominent authority, Thomas K. Finletter, former United States Secretary of the Air Force, stated that "Psychological warfare is a bad term because the word 'warfare' implies that deceit is justifiable if it serves our purpose." Though deceit is standard practice in times of war, it is not correct practice in peacetime; neither is it consistent with our principles, nor is it good business.[2] From these two authorities we gather that the word "psychological" is as distasteful as the word "warfare." It is therefore evident that there is need for considerable study to rename this branch of government service.

We understand that all warfare is psychological, since the main goal is to create the will to surrender; but psychological warfare is only a part of the whole plan and is more restricted to non-combatant means, using words, suggestions, argument, and other means of communication, either verbal or written. The over-all effort endeavors to make possible the defeat of the enemy at a minimum expense in manpower, time, and material. Just as there is wide disagreement on the term used for the name of this government branch, so there is disagreement on what types and kinds of activities should be included within its scope. However, since some definition is required to further our research, I quote from FM 33-5 on Psychological Operations:

> "Psychological warfare is the planned use, in time of war or declared emergency, of propaganda and exploitation of other actions, with the primary purpose of influencing the opinions, emotions, attitudes, and behavior of enemy, neutral, or friendly foreign groups in such a way as to support the accomplishment of national aims and objectives."[3]

PROPAGANDA: From the same manual, FM 33-5, I quote the definition:

> "any information, ideas, doctrines, or special appeals desseminated to influence the opinions, emotions, attitudes, or behavior of any specific group, to benefit the sponsor, either directly or indirectly."[4]

It will be noted that nowhere in the definition is there a distinction made between truth and half-truth; apparently either may be used to the advantage of the user.

THE CHAPLAIN: The term "chaplain" has much meaning for most of the American population, primarily because so many chaplains served Americans through World War II and the Korean conflict.

The chaplain is the clergyman in uniform; he serves the military personnel, their dependents, and authorized civilians as he would serve in any American civilian community as a minister, priest, or rabbi. His spiritual and moral obligations are to promote, cultivate, and develop religious character and virtue in individuals within his charge. He

endeavors to stimulate and guide them into being faithful citizens and courageous defenders of the faith and nation.

In considering the chaplain, we must first state that though the profession is his recognized vocation, it is primarily so only because he personally has felt this to be a call from God Almighty. Otherwise he has missed his calling and is in a most difficult situation. In this call, he has been convinced of his unworthiness, his need of a Savior, and his acceptance and belief in Him. This call involves ambassadorship; though he belongs to the Master, he also represents Him in the world. As a representative, he functions and coordinates with the Master; he tries to recieve better understanding of God's revelation. As a chaplain, his every contact should count in some way for the Master and eventually to the winning of men to Christ. This is the beginning in the winning of persons. Then comes the building process of the spiritual body and the strengthening of the moral character, mainly through the chaplain's program. Within this program there are many avenues of approach, the bhapel services, religious education, discussions, fellowships, and character guidance. In addition, the chaplain serves his fellowmen in many other ways: officiating at marriages and funerals, performing church ordinances, and offering counsel when it is required. The dignity and equality

of man is primary in presenting the claims of our Lord. No one is given priority or special privilege; all are equal before God.

In realizing the importance of his mission, the chaplain does his utmost to win and build man spiritually. We understand the urgency of his task when we realize that all people must one day meet God's presence and answer to Him for all things done or left undone.

CHAPTER II

SHOULD PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE INCLUDE CHAPLAINS? A NEGATIVE VIEW

In this chapter we will consider the principles and morality of psychological warfare; and since the chaplain is so heavily involved, his calling must also be analyzed.

The term, psychological warfare, as of today, covers a wide area of activity in the realm of politics, foreign affairs, communications, publicity, and propaganda. In essence, it means the use of all the available media of communications for the purpose of destroying the will of the enemy to fight. Modern psychological warfare is more inclusive than ever before; all the sciences of man are thrown into the fray. But, to be effective, words must be coupled with action. Therefore, psychological warfare is closely tied to political and military policy.

But why do we have psychological warfare? Beside the answer given above, it may be considered fighting fire with fire. The Soviet propagandists follow certain themes at different times, but in all of them the United States is generally pictured as a money-grabbing glutton. We are characterized as imperialistic warmongers out to corner the economic world and out to destroy the people's democracies. Such accusations infuriate us at times, and we retaliate in

kind. The psychological warfare branch of government is one way of answering the Soviet attack.

Influencing minds cannot help but give power over opinion; power of persuasion has always been considered a necessary part of leadership. It is, however, generally limited by the inherent utopianism of human nature, and any propaganda coupled to military or economic power always reaches a point when it defeats its own end, usually by inciting revolt against that power. Power over opinion, as a necessary part of all power, can never be absolute; therefore, any type or kind of war can never be absolute.

Defeat in war is ultimately a conquest of the mind. The infliction of death and suffering on the enemy and the destruction of his property have only one purpose: surrender. Actually, surrender is a state of mind, a psychological attitude which makes a man want to abandon aggression. It is quite natural to think of war in terms of actual military action, the use of soldiers, sailors, ships, and planes to win battles; but battles have surrender as their final goal. Destroy enough of the enemy's equipment and the rest turn to flee. Killenough of the fighting men and the others give up. Why should they continue to fight when victory is no longer possible? This battle for minds is a continuing process whether it is during a shooting war or during so-called peaceful co-existance.[5]

The media used covers a wide range of equipment and operating procedures. The subject matter may be in printed leaflet form, with or without cartoons of illustration. It may be by loudspeaker, radio, true or false stories, dramas, comedies, or some great accomplishment of science. The area is so varied, and the procedures so wide, that it is often limited only by the imagination of the officer in command of a particular mission. He may or may not be concerned about morals or how he carries out his campaign so long as he accomplishes the mission. Whether he is truthful in his subject matter may or may not be of consequence. Whether innocents are attacked in order to reach the guilty may or may not have any significance in the operation. His organized machine may issue white, black, or gray propaganda and may or may not claim credit for his operations; or he might even accuse the other as being the author. The mission is the main objective. the "how" of the mission is somewhat disturbing. It seems that a psychological warfare officer in the battle for minds and opinion has little restriction. In the main, his operating procedure is controlled only by his own imagination. It's more like a game as he juggles words, minds, and emotions. He is like the carnival barker who knows he won't get them all, but he does get some. In psychological warfare, all listeners are not convinced, but those who are can mean the difference between the making or the breaking of the group concerned.

We have noted the principles of psychological warfare as being a variety of efforts to break the will of the enemy; to create within him a desire to surrender. Since defeat in war is really a conquest of the mind, psychological warfare holds a prominent position in the frame-work of national defense. Its importance cannot be calculated. However, in considering the assignment of chaplains to this branch of operation, we must point out one fly in the ointment: the lack of moral standards. We have noted that truth and moral standards may be set aside if they become obstacles in accomplishing a mission. But even if there were rigid moral standards established and only truth was used, there would still be problems as was revealed in the "campaign for truth" called for by President Truman in 1950.[6] The point of interpretation grew large in reporting. Those trained in reporting news wanted to present all the facts, while those trained in social sciences or such persuasive sciences as advertising followed editorial selection, which meant slanting the news for desired effect. Even truth can be very elastic in international communications. It has taken thirty years and still Congress does not agree that factual truths or information and propaganda are different. To clarify, factual truth or information leaves the initiator at a distance free to disclaim moral responsibility, while propaganda in our democracy says that facts provide

the basis for free judgment. Propaganda betrays the democratic principle. It is the guerrilla warfare of communication; it creeps up on you from your blind side saying one thing and meaning another. It seduces in an insidious manner.[7]

On the other hand, the ambassador for God finds it in his obligation to practice morality in all areas of endeavor. As His servant, he serves Him.[8] The reason for his existance is to glorify God[9] and to give Him pleasure.[10] The moral code of Almighty God dictates how he should act or react. "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds.[11]" Therefore, I conclude that if chaplains were to be used in this branch of service, not only would they be discredited before God and the peoples of the world, but even more, all that he represented would also be called into question. He would become "as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal.[12]" Chaplains should never be assigned to a psychological warfare branch; it would be immoral to make or accept such an assignment.

In summation, we have noted the use of immoral techniques to accomplish a mission and we do not feel that this is good not is it right, regardless of the mission. On the other hand, the chaplain is representing the highest possible authority when he represents Almighty God. He demands moral integrity otherwise the whole democratic structure of

man's equality would collapse. Our conclusion is in the negative primarily because a psychological warfare team may "use" truth not as a moral principle, but as a tool for advantage. To the chaplain truth is what he lives for so that others might know and understand. Therefore, since in moral principles there is such a wide gap between psychological warfare and the principles of the chaplain, a union of these two would be, to say the least, inappropriate.

CHAPTER III

SHOULD PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE INCLUDE CHAPLAINS? A POSITIVE VIEW

If we accept even a portion of the preceding argument, it may seem somewhat irrelevant to attempt to go on in any consideration of the use of a chaplain in psychological warfare. However, in all of our considerations the concept of psychological warfare has been considered from an offensive viewpoint. The unspoken assumption has been that psychological warfare is now being used, by the United States as well as the communist bloc nations. In admitting this, we find that since this type warfare is now being waged against it. It is felt that it is precisely here, in the defensive role, that the chaplain serves at the least a useful function, if not a critical one.

It would be well at this point to examine some of the major qualifications of the chaplain for participation in psychological warfare:

1) On the basis of highly specialized training to qualify for the ministry, the chaplain is in a position to understand the basic needs of people; their psychology, their reactions and their emotional stability.

2) A chaplain or clergyman, even with people who are not especially receptive or sympathetic to his profession, represents an authority figure. Here is one who, by virtue

of his position if nothing else, represents definitive authority, even on matters which may be outside his immediate field of interest or knowledge.

3) As the staff officer who is directly concerned with morale and morals, who can better advise the commander concerning the enemy's effectiveness in their psychological operations than the chaplain? Here is one who is eminently qualified to advise the commander on the emotional attitudes of his troops and what can be done to strengthen them.

The factors affecting troops will be many. Psychological warfare against a nation begins long before the first shot is fired; it begins with the clash of ideologies. The chaplain cannot assume that enemy psychology will not be used against his troops, their dependents and civilian populations. His mission is to help educate and build a spiritual structure in the soul of each person he is called upon to minister. Of course, he cannot do it alone, but this does not excuse him from some of the responsibility. The role of the chaplain in psychological warfare encompasses elements which deal with patriotic, moral, and spiritual strengths of his men. The time to prevent men from giving up, from spiritual surrender, is before the battle proper begins. It must be understood by every chaplain that the struggle for the soul of man is a constant, never-ending one.

Nearly two thousand years ago, Christ warned mankind against being duped by the menace which we face today: "Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves."[13]

Communism makes use of words which are quite acceptable to the free world: Freedom, Democracy, law, and the nature of man. There are words well known to Americans; they are recorded in the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence to remind us of the faith of our founding fathers. For them, God insured man's freedom, and provided the law which supports our democracy. His process continues through all of His faithful followers in our age.

The Christian democracy looks at the rights of a person as coming from God; the communists, claiming a neo-democracy, say that rights begin with man. Freedom for the Christian democracy is found in what man ought to do; the communists teach that freedom is to do what we like to do. The Christian democracy teaches that man, being a creature, is subject to God; therefore man does not create law any more than he can create truth. God remains the supreme law-giver just as He remains the Creator. The communists claim that man, by creating truth, is the creator of the law. The Christian democracy believes that every human law must be in conformity with the natural law, which itself is the manifest-

ation of God's will. Every "law" which contradicts the natural is a corruption of the law. The communists believe that to establish the supremacy of human law over natural law is to establish the reign of man over God.

In view of this, the chaplain must evaluate his religious education program; the training he provides his teachers; the material used in the post Sunday School. He will be forced to evaluate the retreats and conferences, the goals and the accomplishments of any religious emphasis programs. The entire religious program of the post must be scrutinized carefully to be sure that it does in fact contribute to the building of strong mental, emotional and spiritual fortresses. The results of these programs may well prove to be vital in enabling the chaplain's parish to see and resist enemy psychological warfare.

The Character Guidance Program (with all its' faults) has become refined in ways of presentation, planning and group participation which cause men to think and evaluate. The chaplain, with careful direction of these discussions, can help his men reinforce the basic concepts of "Duty, Honor, Country" and give them a good start in learning to discriminate between truth and patent falsehood. Each chaplain must think of his specific Character Guidance Discussion hour in terms of defense against enemy psychological warfare.

Another means produced to help indoctrinate the serviceman and remind him of his responsibilities as an American fighting man is the Code of Conduct, introduced 17 Aug 55. It is to be understood that the chaplain should include portions of the Code in the Character Guidance discussion each month. In addition, the chaplain should use this material for special lectures and discussions among the men in the barracks and in chapel groups.

Even though not in effect at the present time, the Department of the Army has prepared a document for the dissemination of the Code of Conduct to include those institutions preparing young men before they reach the Army; it gives some valuable insights into the Code and the problems of disemination. It is stated:

> "In all services training should be adapted to cover the needs of all ranks from the enlisted man to the commander. It must be realistic as well as idealistic. Above all, it must be presented with understanding, skill, and devotion, sufficient to implant a conviction in the heart, consicience, and mind of the serviceman that full and loyal support of the Code is to the best interest of his country, his comrades, and himself... But skill must be reinforced by will---by moral character and by basic beliefs installed in home, and classroom long before a lad enters the Military Service. Pride in a country and respect for its principles---a sense of honor---a sense of responsibility---such basics should be established long before 'basic training,' and further developed after he enters the Armed Forces.

> The committee recommends that the Services find an effective means of coordinating with civilian educational institutions, churches and other patriotic organizations to provide better understanding of American ideals."
> DA Cir 1-5, 2 Dec 57

The chaplain who is stationed within CONUS would do well to set up and maintain liaison with civilian institutions located near his post and attempt to introduce the Code to the civilian populace.

It would be well worth noting that the Army, even at its worst, cannot undo in two years what a young man has learned in the previous eighteen or twenty. The Code of Conduct is, in one sense at least, a worthless document if its concepts are totally new to an eighteen year old. This young cynic is driven by "man-boy" pride to ignore, or at least pretend to ignore, many of the non-material motives of the Code. This young man, and all other young men, needs to have these basic principles inculcated at the start of life, not one third of the way through. It is for this reason the chaplain should make every attempt to introduce the Code and its dissemination to his civilian counterparts.

Yet another area in which the chaplain can serve with distinction is in Civil Affairs operations. Here, in an offensive combat situation, the chaplain continues to serve in a "defensive" attitude. It must be remembered that when our forces occupy a formerly enemy-held area, the civilian pop-

ulation remains. And during the time preceding our occupation this population has been under the influence of enemy propaganda and indoctrination. One of the basic tasks of psychological warfare operations is to re-educate and re-indocrinate the population in the area occupied. The attitudes, emotions, thinking and feelings of these people, in all probability, has been thoroughly set against the United States of America. The task of rechanneling these emotions and attitudes becomes a difficult one (witness the difficulties after World War II in Germany) which is the responsibility of every member of the Armed Forces.

Once again, the chaplain with his peculiar qualifications as an expert in religious affairs, can be of inestimable value. It must be understood that we have assumed the chaplain to have done his "homework" in comparative religions and local cultures. The following are but a few of the areas in Civil Affairs in which the chaplain can help:

1) The chaplain can and must maintain contact with religious institutions and civil-religious leaders, governmental organizations, and business groups which have religious significance. From these the chaplain can give what would probably be the most accurate assessment of public feeling and opinion.

2) Espionage and/or subversion activities operating under cover of a religious organization could be ferretted

out by the chaplain. If not necessarily the actual act of espionage, at the least the pre-disposition of the members of a religious group can be determined.

3) The chaplain, in his efforts to help the United States Army improve its public "image," will see to it that United States troops will afford maximum respect to customs, traditions, and beliefs of the civilian population. In addition, he will see to it that the prohibition of the use of churches and religious institutions for military purposes is enforced.

4) The chaplain will advise the command on all civil-religious affairs and recommend policy in these affairs.

A final consideration concerns the chaplain himself: what must he do to prepare himself? Although each chaplain must have the maturity and spiritual depth to answer this problem for himself, I should like to list several of the areas in which the chaplain might concentrate his efforts:

1) Personal devotions; this would often seem superfluous as a suggestion, but too often this is just the area in which the chaplain preaches but fails to practice.

2) Utilization of "retreat periods." Although this may be considered a part of personal devotions, I feel that all too often the chaplain, under the guise of "busy-ness," neglects the one day per month as well as the 10 days per year retreats; a "must" for real spiritual development.

3) Refresher courses in:
   a. Communism.
   b. World Politics.
   c. Psychological warfare; its techniques and practice.
   d. Comparative religion.

These, in brief, are some of the areas in which the chaplain could prepare and remain prepared to serve his people, his nation, and his God.

CONCLUSION

It has been our contention throughout this paper that the chaplain, by the very nature of his calling, cannot participate in any of the active or "aggressive" phases of psychological warfare. However, it is felt, at the same time, that the chaplain has a "defensive" role to play. And, in many ways, it might be considered as being of primary importance that a defense against any psychological attack be devised; possibly the only area in which the old adage of "the best defense is a good offense" is properly reversed! The chaplain, through his understanding of the nature of man, is capable strengthening the spiritual resources of man so that he is capable of resisting the blandishments of false idols.

Throughout this paper it has been a basic presupposition that, although there may be individual chaplains who see their role in a different light, we cannot set hard and fast rules; merely the ideas of one particualr chaplain who hopes that some of his reflections may be valid as general ground rules for all other chaplains.

We have examined some of the aspects of psychological warfare, the chaplain's religous program, the Character Guidance program, the chaplain"s personal devotional life and related aspects. There is one area in which not enough

study has been done: the function of the chaplain in Civil Affairs. The discussion in this paper is far from complete; it merely points to an area which could prove to be of inestimable value to the nation. I should hope that some doctrine regarding the place of the chaplain in Civil Affairs will be forthcoming in the near future.

After all has been said and done, there is but one answer to our original question of the role of the chaplain in psychological warfare: to have the chaplain continue to do what he has always done, be a good pastor to his men and a faithful servant of his God. The mission remains the same, it is only some of the considerations and details which have changed somewhat.

FOOTNOTES

1. William E. Daugherty and Morris Janowitz, A Psychological Warfare Casebook (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1958), p. 15.

2. Ibid., p.16.

3. Psychological Operations(Washington; DA FM 33-5, January, 1964), p. 5.

4. Ibid., p. 9.

5. E.G. Boring (ed), Psychology for the Armed Forces (Washington; Infantry Journal Press, 1946), p. 85.

6. Robert E. Summers, America's Weapons of Psychological Warfare (New York: H.W.Wilson Company, 1951), p.63.

7. Ibid., p. 24.

8. C.I.Scofield (ed), The Holy Bible (New York: Oxford University Press, 1917), Revelations 22:3.

9. Ibid., I Corinthians 10:13.

10. Ibid., Revelations 4:11.

11. Ibid., II Corinthians 10:4.

12. Ibid., I Corinthians 13:1.

13. Ibid., Matthew 7:15.

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